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4 January 1978

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1491

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BULGARIA

REGULATION ON VOLUNTARY WORKERS DETACHMENTS

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 4 Nov 77 pp 987-991

[Regulation governing the application of the Ukase concerning the voluntary workers detachments]

[Text] Chapter One: The Creation and Organization of Voluntary Workers Detachments

Article 1. (1) A voluntary workers detachment [VWD] is to be created at a meeting of persons desiring to join it, with the meeting organized upon the initiative of the representatives of the party and public organizations, the administrative-economic bodies and by the executive committees of the corresponding people's council at the place of work or place of residence.

(2) Minutes are kept of the held meeting, and these reflect the decision to set up the VWD, the acceptance of the detachment members and the election of the commander, the detachment deputy commander and the squad commanders. The minutes of the meeting are signed by the chairman and by the secretary, and are sent within a 7-day period to the executive committee of the corresponding people's council for approval.

Article 2. (1) As detachment members, persons are accepted who meet the requirements in Article 3 of the Ukase, who have submitted a written request that they desire to be admitted as detachment members, and who have received a recommendation from the corresponding social organization at their place of work, school or residence.

(2) Each detachment member, after his acceptance, signs a solemn promise to conscientiously and faithfully carry out his social duty according to the appendix.

(3) The rules of the preceding paragraph are to be applied both in accepting new detachment members to the created VWDs, as well as in the changing of their leadership which is carried out at the general meeting of the detachment.

Article 3. The VWD is led by a commander and a deputy commander who are elected with open voting at the general meeting of the detachment members for a term of 2 years. In a detachment with over 10 members, the squad commanders are also elected for the same term. The leader of the detachment is approved by the executive committee of the corresponding people's council.

Article 4. In institutions, organizations and schools with a large number of workers, employees or students, upon the decision of the city (rayon) or village staff of the VWDs, detachments or groups of detachments may be established separately for production lines, shops, sections, faculties and so forth.

Article 5. (1) For better organizing the work of the VWDs, upon the decision of the city (rayon) or village VWD staff, special detachments or groups of detachments may be established for carrying out certain missions according to Article 1 of the Ukase.

(2) Upon the decision of the city (rayon) or village VWD staff, and the appropriate committee of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union, operational detachments can be established from Komsomol detachment members for combatting violations of law and order and other antisocial actions among the youth and minors. They coordinate their activities with the commissions to combat antisocial actions of the juveniles and minors.

Article 6. (1) Upon a decision of the appropriate executive committee of the people's council and with the approval of the party committee, a city (rayon) or village VWD staff is formed for operational leadership of the VWDs within the limits of the city (rayon) or village. The staff includes representatives from the party, state and public bodies and organizations of the people's council, the detachment commanders, deputy commanders, squad commanders or detachment members.

(2) Upon a decision of the executive committee of the corresponding people's council, district, village, plant or VUZ VWD staffs can be set up with at least three members in population points, institutions and organizations where there are several detachments.

Article 7. For coordinating the activities of the city (rayon) and village VWD staffs, the executive committees of the okrug people's council (Sofia City People's Council) set up okrug (city) VWD staffs from representatives of the party, state and public bodies and organizations and the commanders of the city (rayon) and village VWD staffs, and establish their membership.

Article 8. Each okrug, city (rayon) and village VWD staff elects a commander and chief of staff of the detachments.

Article 9. (1) The executive committees of the people's councils register the VWDs and supervise the observance of the procedure for their establishing.

(2) The disbanning or reorganization of individual VWDs is carried out upon a decision of the general meeting of the detachment members or a meeting of their representatives together with the city (rayon) or village VWD staff, with the approval of the executive committee of the appropriate people's council.

Article 10. A detachment member who changes residence, school or place of employment can be admitted to the VWD at the new residence, school or place of employment on the basis of a written request and recommendation from the commander of the detachment where he was previously a member.

Article 11. (1) A detachment member is released from a VWD by the general meeting on the basis of a written request or upon the proposal of the commander, with the approval of the detachment staff.

(2) A detachment member who has been released from a VWD returns to the VWD staff his button, membership card and property issued to him.

Chapter Two: Tasks and Work Methods of the Voluntary Workers Detachments

Article 12. In fulfilling the tasks under Article 1 of the Ukase, the VWDs"

1. Assist in securing public order;
2. Assist the bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the prosecutor's office and the courts in their activities to maintain public order, national security, crime prevention and other violations of law and order and anti-social actions;
3. They provide help in securing the state frontier of Bulgaria and maintaining the frontier passport conditions;
4. They combat hooliganistic and immoral actions, drunkenness and alcoholism, idleness, vagrancy, begging and encroachments on the property of the citizens;
5. They assist the leadership of the institutions and organizations in preventing encroachments on socialist property and in combating various instances of mismanagement.
6. They participate in measures to conserve the natural environment and prevent violations of hunting and fishing rules;
7. They provide assistance to the public bodies in preventive and indoctrinational work among the citizenry for the conscientious observance of the socialist legal system and the rules of socialist morality;
8. They aid the commissions for combating antisocial actions by minors and juveniles, the children's pedagogical rooms, the temporary placement homes, the supervisory commissions and the traffic safety commissions;

9. They help in providing safe traffic;
10. They provide immediate aid to persons who have suffered an accident or who are in a helpless state;
11. They participate in the combating of fires, in the rescuing of people and property and in the maintaining of public order with a natural or social calamity;
12. They aid the bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in providing supervision and reindoctrinating persons for whom it has been properly established that they avoid socially useful labor and lead a parasitic way of life, who have been condemned or against whom preventive administrative measures have been applied;
13. They provide aid to state bodies in maintaining clues and evidence of crimes, as well as road and transport accidents;
14. They participate in supervising activities with socially dangerous means and the observance of passport conditions.

Article 13. The VWDs use the following forms of work in their activities:

1. Duty on the staffs, the manning of posts and patrols, assistance in the discovery of persons who have committed crimes and other violations of the law and antisocial actions;
2. Participation in special details to protect the state frontier and the border regions;
3. The conducting of individual indoctrination and the assuming of sponsorship by detachment members for persons who have committed crimes, other violations and antisocial actions;
4. Conducting talks with parents and relatives of minors and juveniles who have committed crimes or other antisocial actions;
5. The explanation of enforceable enactments;
6. Organizing the publishing of visual materials and the use of the press, radio and television for preventive work;
7. Discussing the behavior of lawbreakers at sessions of the VWD staffs in the presence of representatives from public organizations and worker collectives whose members are lawbreakers. For this purpose the lawbreakers are ordered to be present at the session.

Article 14. Each detachment member is obliged:

1. To be active in carrying out the missions assigned him;

2. To carry out precisely and conscientiously the demands placed on him and to observe the instructions of the bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in exercising procedural leadership over the activities of the detachments;
3. To protect the rights and legal interests of the citizens, institutions and organizations, and to be tactful and polite in dealings with the citizens;
4. To observe the laws and other enforceable enactments, and to master the forms and methods of combating crimes and other violations of the law and antisocial actions;
5. To be an example in labor, studies and personal life, and to constantly improve one's special and political training;
6. To show vigilance, to promptly and precisely inform the VWD staff, the bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the appropriate state and public bodies and organizations concerning circumstances which have become known to one concerning prepared or committed crimes, attempts at violating the state frontier and natural or social calamities which have arisen, as well as to take measures to prevent the harmful consequences of these, regardless of whether or not the detachment member is in a detail at the moment;
7. To participate in details in accord with the schedule at least 4 hours monthly;
8. To always wear the button and carry the membership card, and while on detail, the armband of a detachment member;
9. To report periodically on one's work to the detachment commander, to the public organization which has recommended this for the detachment member, or to its leadership;
10. To participate actively in the organizational life of the detachment.

Chapter Three: Leadership of the Voluntary Workers Detachments

Article 15. The detachment commander:

1. Leads and controls the work of the VWD;
2. Carries out measures to unify and strengthen the detachment; instills in the detachment members high and aware discipline, vigilance, a sense of social duty, comradeship and self-sacrifice;
3. Maintains constant ties with the leadership of the public organizations, recommended detachment members, and informs them of their deeds;

4. Organizes a study of the laws and other enforceable enactments related to the work of the detachment members, and familiarizes them with the forms and methods of preventing crimes and other violations of the law and antisocial actions;
5. Plans the work of the detachments;
6. With the approval of the bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs determines the places of the posts and patrols, he draws up the schedule for the standing of service and duty, and instructs the detachment members;
7. Keeps a report on the results of the work of the detachment, and prepares questions for discussion at the meeting of detachment members;
8. Demands from the detachment members a report on the execution of the tasks assigned to them, and dispatches to the competent body the statements compiled by them concerning witnessed violations of the law, when this is foreseen in the law or Ukase;
9. Sends proposals to the appropriate staff for eliminating the established causes and conditions for the commission of a crime or other violations of the law and antisocial actions;
10. Organizes interaction between the detachment and the state and public bodies and organizations;
11. Reports at least once a year on the work of the detachment to the appropriate people's council, its executive committee and the superior VWD staff, as well as to the appropriate institutions and organizations;
12. Organizes and reports on the competition in the detachments;
13. Submits to the appropriate detachment staff the outstanding detachment members for decorations and commendations.

Article 16. In accord with Article 5 of the Ukase, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Commission for Executive Committees of the People's Councils Under the Council of Ministers:

1. Provide procedural leadership and help the okrug detachment staffs, they generalize and introduce positive experience in their activities and the experience of similar organizations in the USSR and other socialist countries;
2. They organize joint measures of the detachments to maintain public order, the security of the nation and state frontier, as well as the combating of crime and other violations of the law and antisocial actions;
3. They organize national conferences, courses and meetings with the leadership of the detachments, they elaborate training programs for the

detachment members and organize the training preparations of the okrug and other detachment staffs, the detachment commanders and members;

4. They make proposals to the appropriate state and public bodies and organizations concerning their interaction with the detachment;

5. They approve samples of buttons, they organize the manufacturing of training aids, maps for the detachment members and other aids using the means of the people's councils, the institutions and organizations;

6. They organize and report on the competition between the okrug staffs, and submit the okrug staff which is the national winner for awarding the rotating red banner of the Council of Ministers. They award the detachment members with the title "Honored Detachment Member," they present certificates and buttons, and submit particularly outstanding staffs, detachments and detachment members for the awarding of other state, governmental and departmental decorations according to the established procedure.

Article 17. (1) The okrug, city (rayon) and village people's councils and their executive committees lead and supervise the work of the VWDs, in:

1. Organizing, supervising and directing their activities;

2. Taking measures to strengthen the detachments and involve the best representatives of the workers in them;

3. Providing the observance of legality in their activities;

4. Organizing the interaction of the detachments with the state and public bodies and organizations, with indoctrinational centers at places of residence and preventive councils at places of employment;

5. Hearing periodically information and reports on the work of the detachments by the commanders and chiefs of staff, as well as by the leaders of the institutions and organizations.

(2) The executive committees of the people's councils determine the staff member of the executive committee who is responsible for the organization and work of the VWDs.

Article 18. The okrug VWD staff:

1. Coordinates the work of the city (rayon) and village staffs on the territory of the okrug;

2. Generalizes and disseminates positive experience in the activities of the staffs and the individual detachments and provides the necessary help to them;

3. Checks the work of the detachment staffs, and takes measures to eliminate the committed weaknesses;

4. Holds okrug courses of detachment members, and organizes the training of the detachment staff members;
5. Submits proposals to the appropriate state and public bodies and organizations on questions of the preventing of crimes and other violations of the law and antisocial acts, the maintaining of public order, the protection of the state frontier and national security;
6. Awards the button "Outstanding Detachment Member" to detachment members who have proven themselves, and submits detachment members to the Ministry of Internal Affairs for awarding the button "Honored Detachment Member;"
7. Reports on the work of the staff and the detachments to the executive committee of the okrug people's council, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Commission for Executive Committees of People's Councils Under the Council of Ministers, and provides the information requested by them.

Article 19. (1) The city (rayon) and village VWD staff:

1. Coordinates the activities of the detachments on the territory of the obshtina;
2. Conducts measures to improve the activities of the VWDs;
3. Works out measures related to interaction with the state and public bodies and organizations, and allocates the forces and means of the detachments over the territory and for carrying out certain tasks;
4. Checks the activities of the detachments, takes measures to eliminate weaknesses, generalizes and disseminates positive experience in their work;
5. Participates in the setting up and activities of indoctrinational centers at residences and preventive councils at places of employment;
6. Makes proposals and sends alerting letters to the state and public bodies and organizations for eliminating specific causes and conditions for the commission of crimes and other infractions of the law and anti-social actions;
7. Organizes and reports on the competition between the detachments, and submits outstanding detachments and individual members for decorations and commendations according to the appropriate procedure to the leaders of the institutions and organizations, as well as to the executive committee of the appropriate people's council and the okrug VWD staff;
8. Organizes the training preparations and conducts courses for the detachments;
9. Reports on its activities to the appropriate people's council, its executive committee and the okrug VWD staff, and provides the information requested by them.

(2) The institution, plant, VUZ and block VWD staffs carry out the functions as listed in Paragraph 1 for only the detachments under their jurisdiction.

Article 20. The commanders and the chiefs of staffs of the VWDs lead and coordinate the activities of the appropriate detachment staffs, and provide them with the necessary procedural aid.

Article 21. The VWDs seek the aid of the prosecutor and court bodies for correct indoctrination of the detachment members and for obtaining the necessary information related to the carrying out of the tasks assigned to them.

Chapter 4: Commendations and Responsibilities

Article 22. (1) The detachment members, the detachments, their commanders and staffs which take an active part in carrying out the tasks assigned to them are commended by the corresponding executive committees of the people's councils, the state and public bodies and organizations within the limits of their competence by:

1. A statement of thanks;
2. The presentation of a certificate;
3. The awarding of prize articles or money;
4. Inscribing the names of individual detachment members in the honor book or on the honor board;
5. Awarding the button "Outstanding Detachment Member";
6. Presenting the title "Honored Detachment Member" accompanied by a certificate and button.

(2) Detachment members may be submitted for a decoration with state, governmental and departmental awards under the established procedure.

(3) The commending of the detachment members, detachments and staffs with prize money and articles is at the expense of funds allocated for granting bonuses to the collectives of the institutions and organizations.

(4) The okrug staff that is the national winner in the competition is presented each year with the rotating red banner of the Council of Ministers and the appropriate prize money.

Article 23. The announcement and presentation of the awards to the detachment members are carried out in a ceremony at meetings and assemblies of detachment members or at meetings of the collectives of the institutions and organizations.

Article 24. (1) For a detachment member who without valid reason has not carried out the duties assigned to him or has violated discipline, upon a decision of the general meeting of the detachment members, the following measures may be applied:

1. Warning;
2. Reprimand;
3. Strict reprimand;
4. Written notification of the social organization of which he is a member or which has recommended the individual as a detachment member.

(2) A detachment member who does not carry out his obligations or who has committed a deed incompatible with this position is to be expelled from the VWD. The decision of expulsion is taken at the general meeting of the detachment members, and notification of this is given to the social organization which recommended the person as a detachment member or the social organization of which he is a member.

Chapter Five: Material and Technical Support of the Voluntary Workers Detachments

Article 25. (1) The okrug, city, rayon and obshtina VWD staffs are to be provided with quarters, supplies and a telephone link by the executive committees of the appropriate people's councils or by the institutions and organizations under which the detachments have been set up.

(2) The leaders of the institutions and organizations and the executive committees of the people's councils, when necessary, make available means of transport to the VWDs and their staffs for the period of details.

(3) The executive committee of the appropriate people's council, the institution or organization repays or replaces consumed fuel to a detachment member who uses his own motor conveyance for carrying out the tasks assigned to him.

Article 26. (1) Expenses for the use of the quarters of the VWDs, for the purchase of supplies, helpful literature and visual aids, for producing the buttons and cards of the detachment members, as well as telephone, postal and other expenditures to support the activities of the detachments are to be paid by the institutions and organizations under which they have been created.

(2) The expenses under the preceding paragraph for the okrug, city, rayon and obshtina VWD staffs and the specialized and Komsomol operational groups under them are to be covered by the budgets of the appropriate people's councils.

Article 27. The bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, in the necessary instances, may provide portable radios and other equipment for use by the specialized groups under the detachments and their staffs while on duty, as well as conveyances, weapons, ammunition and other equipment under the procedure determined by the minister of internal affairs in carrying out particularly important missions in line with the maintaining of public order, the protection of the state frontier and national security.

Article 28. (1) One-time monetary compensation under Article 9 of the Ukase is to be paid in an amount of 3 month's wages on the basis of labor remuneration which the deceased detachment would have received at the institution or organization where he was employed.

(2) When the detachment member was not employed or when his labor remuneration was below the wages of a police private, as the basis for calculating the one-time aid under the preceding paragraph, the wages for the position and rank of police private are to be used.

(3) Accident reports for the detachment members are drawn up by the appropriate detachment commanders in accord with the Regulation Governing the Registration and Reporting of Labor Accidents (DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, No 37, 1966).

Concluding Provisions

§1. This regulation is promulgated on the basis of §1 of the Concluding Provisions of the Ukase Governing the Voluntary Workers Detachments (DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, No 58, 1977).

§2. Decree No 32 of the BCP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of 26 June 1967 and the Regulation Governing the Tasks, Organization and Activities of the Voluntary Workers Detachments to Maintain Public Order, Protect the State Frontier and National Security which was approved by the decree (see DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, No 53, 1967) are to be repealed.

Appendix to Article 2, Paragraph 2

Oath of a Detachment Member

"I, a citizen of Bulgaria, in joining the ranks of a voluntary workers detachment, before my comrades give my solemn promise to be a courageous, vigilant and disciplined detachment member, to wage an irreconcilable struggle against crimes and other violations of public order, to strictly observe socialist legality, and set an example in labor, studies and my personal life.

"I promise to carry out honestly and conscientiously the missions assigned to me, to defend wholeheartedly the rights and legitimate interests of the citizens, to guard the interests of socialist society, and be totally dedicated to my people, the BCP and our socialist motherland, Bulgaria."

2420

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CSO: 2200

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHARTER '77 SIGNATORY INTERVIEWED

Paris POLITIQUE HEBDO in French 21-27 Nov 77 p 22

[Interview with Ludvik Kavin, signatory of "Charter 77." Date and place of interview not given.]

[Text] Kavin is 34 years old. A signatory of Charter 77, he was obliged to go into exile. His history is the history of that Prague springtime which tried to reconcile socialism and liberty. A Party member with a degree in history and philosophy, he was an assistant in the Central School for Party Cadres from 1966 to 1968. In that springtime he was elected Party secretary for the university sector in Brno. In 1969 he was expelled from the Party along with 500,000 of his comrades, and he became a factory worker.

After he had signed Charter 77 he was dismissed from his job, as was his wife. It is impossible for him to find work. His son is not accepted in school. There remains only one solution for him today: emigration.

[Question] How did the workers in your factory react to the Charter?

[Answer] When the Charter was published, I showed it to my colleagues in the shop. Many of them had already heard it spoken of by the Western broadcasting stations. Eighty percent of the boys were ready to sign it then. However, that was not a time to organize a massive movement to obtain signatures. Some of them thought that the Charter was not radical enough.

[Question] Because it wasn't political enough, or did they think that it didn't represent their interests?

[Answer] They figured that the Charter wasn't political enough. As far as worker interests are concerned the text is explicitly on the side of human rights, social and economic rights. And those were exactly the points that most interested us.

That's when the regime's anti-Charter campaign began. Then the reactions in my factory were less enthusiastic. I was told: "If you want any help,

we're ready, but it's dangerous to sign the Charter." It was only at the end of January that I saw the possibility of getting someone to sign the Charter, but at that moment not another person among my comrades in the factory was willing to sign.

[Question] It seems to me that the idea of independent unions is making headway in Czechoslovakia now.

[Answer] Yes, based on the Charter. All they talk about is human rights, and they are also trying to put them into practice. For example, there is the creation of the Jan Patovka University, open to students who have not been able to continue their studies at the university for political reasons. There are also those who are working on the question of social and economic rights and who are debating the idea of independent unions. It is very evident that initiatives tending in that direction are extraordinarily difficult, although the majority of the working class approves of them. The police are already keeping people under protective surveillance for that reason.

If such an initiative should develop, it would require a very broad solidarity on the part of Western labor unions. That solidarity is vital to us.

12,116
CSO: 3100

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SON OF PRAGUE TRIAL DEFENDANT APPEALS TO MARCHAIS

Paris J'INFORME in French 9 Nov 77 p 9

[Text] The son of Jiri Lederer, a journalist who signed "Charter 77" and was sentenced last month to three years in prison, has asked Georges Marchais to intervene with the Czechoslovak authorities on his father's behalf. Mr Marchais is secretary general of the PCF [French Communist Party]. "The slightest sign on your part," Ales Lederer writes to Georges Marchais, "will not only be useful to the innocent prisoner but also to the idea of socialism." (AFP)

12,116
CSO: 3100

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ'S KEMPNY ADDRESSES AUSTRIAN CONGRESS

Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 9 Dec 77 LD

[Text] The delegates and participants in the 23d Congress of the Communist Party of Austria in Vienna were greeted today by the head of the CPCZ delegation Josef Kempny, presidium member and Central Committee secretary.

He said in his address that the congress of Austrian communists was being held at a time when all progressive mankind were celebrating the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution which, for our two nations also had become the start of a new epoch, the start of a development which culminated in the happy socialist present. Josef Kempny said that in Czechoslovakia a powerful material-technical basis of socialism has been built that a developed socialist society is being successfully built and that socialist democracy is being developed in all respects. It is a democracy for an absolute majority of the society. It expresses the will of the working class and all laboring people and that is why we will not allow in their interest various self-appointed figures in foreign imperialist service to undermine the socialist society.

Comrade Josef Kempny also said that the people of Czechoslovakia follow and support with admiration and appreciation the brave struggle of Austrian communists for the interests of the working class and all laboring people, for democratic rights and freedoms, for the restriction of the power of monopoly capital and for social and democratic reforms. He stressed that both fraternal communist parties are being linked by faithfulness to the principles of proletarian internationalism, revolutionary solidarity and interests of unity and cohesion of the international communist and workers movement.

Comrade Josef Kempny wished Austrian communists many successes in work and struggle and assured them of the support and solidarity of the CPCZ.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

BOHUSLAV CHNOUPEK LEAVES FOR LIBYA--Bohuslav Chnoupek, the Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, left Prague for Libya by air today at the invitation of 'Ali 'Abd As-Salam At-Turayko, secretary for foreign affairs of the General People's Committee of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. At the Ruzyne airport in Prague, Bohuslav Chnoupek was seen off by Dusan Spacil, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and other representatives. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0900 GMT 11 Dec 77 LD] 2400

EAST GERMANY

INTERNATIONAL LAW, HELSINKI FINAL ACT ANALYZED

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 31 No 17, Nov 77 pp 579-580

Article by Prof Dr Harry Wuensche, president, GDR Society for International Law: "European Security and International Law"

Text It is obviously a coincidence that the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution coincides with the 1977 Belgrade meeting of delegates from states that were party to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe CSCE. On the other hand, it is no coincidence, but rather a reflection of the objective effect of the historical laws of this period, that a profound transformation of the entire system of international relations is taking place as a result of fundamental changes within the world's power structure. In this regard, Europe in particular has seen perceptible changes in the direction of strengthening peace.

The trend that has been initiated in Europe away from the Cold War and toward a long-term process of detente has long been a primary concern of the USSR and the other states of the socialist community. This change can be traced to initiatives on the part of our community of states. In this context the CSCE represents a high point in the USSR's 60-year struggle for peace and security, which, beginning with the decree on peace in the year 1917, has been and will continue to be conducted on the basis of a number of initiatives and with consideration for the actual power relationship that exists in a given situation.

If we detect a tangible change in the direction of peace right here in Europe, the worldwide significance attached to this development becomes especially clear. After all, this is the continent where the qualitatively and quantitatively strongest groupings of socialism and imperialism in the world stand opposite one another -- on the one hand in the figure of the defense organization of the

1 Cf. "CPSU Central Committee Resolution of 31 January 1977 on the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 4 February 1977, p 4.

community of socialist states, the Warsaw Pact, and the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance, and on the other in the form of the aggressive North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Communities. Of necessity, the process of detente initiated in Europe is having an impact in all parts of the globe.

It cannot be denied that the reason for this development is to be found in the all-round strengthening of the USSR and the community of socialist states during recent decades. This has made it possible to realize to a hitherto unknown degree the peaceful goals of the USSR proclaimed 60 years ago, goals which have become a solid program of the community of socialist states and of progressive forces in the world.

An accounting of findings drawn from the development of the power relationship in Europe clearly shows that the USSR and the other states of the socialist community have been most successful in realizing the peaceful aims that are in the interest of nations all over the world. This has been done in the form of a broad, bilateral system of treaties between the socialist and the capitalist states of Europe, the Four-Power Accord on West Berlin and, finally, the Helsinki Final Act.

The CSCE and its successful conclusion at the highest level was the most significant multilateral international action designed to strengthen security and to put into practice the principles of peaceful coexistence by states with different social orders on our continent since the anti-Hitler coalition. The European security conference accomplished two fundamental tasks: First of all, it drew a political and territorial balance on World War II and post-war development in Europe and fixed this balance in terms of international law; second, it introduced a new phase of strategic importance, namely that of producing an enduring peace that would last for a long time and would cover several five-year plans, a crucial contribution to this effort being the transformation of Europe into a continent of peace.²

Considering this situation, there have been and still are those in capitalist countries who seek with all means at their disposal to minimize the positive significance of the outcome of this conference. Among them in particular are those who simply deny that agreement on rights and obligations among participating states is contained in the Helsinki Final Act.

² Cf. "15th Session of the SED Central Committee," Berlin, 1975, p 101.

Formulation of Binding Agreements in International Law

The object of international law is basically international relations between sovereign states or other subjects of international law. The basis for the inception and validity of international law can therefore never be the legislation passed by one state alone. On the one hand, this would be incompatible with the basic principle in international law of the sovereign equality of states and would be fundamentally at variance with the social realities of our time that underlie this principle. Moreover, in view of the existence of states with differing social orders -- that is, states which are political organizational forms of antagonistic classes -- this would preclude virtually any possibility of the existence of rules of international law which are recognized and observed as such by states from both social systems.

Under present social conditions and given the present structure of international relations, legal regulations covering relations between sovereign states or other subjects of international law can be established only by these parties alone -- and only jointly. This means that international law that is binding upon sovereign states can originate only as the result of agreement among them and that binding force can derive only from this agreement. Consequently, the basis for the inception and validity of international law lies in agreement by sovereign states concerning the rules of law.³

The USSR's great theoretical and practical contribution to international jurisprudence is that of having drafted a precise Marxist-Leninist conception of agreement by sovereign states as a basis for the inception and validity of international law. The brain-child of academy member Prof Dr G. I. Tunkin in particular, the conception's basic assumption is that within international relations states relate to one another as political organizations and instruments of power of certain classes.

The demeanor and activity of states on the international scene is determined by the interests and aims of the class forces in power in those states. When states enter into agreements with one another, each state pursues the interests and aims of those class forces which have made the state their instrument of political power. These interests and aims, which are reflected in the foreign policy of a given state, differ more or less or are even antagonistic, regardless of the class character of the states involved. Agreements by states are therefore basically not possible on the strength of identical interests or objectives or those that are in full accord; they are possible only as the result of the contest between

³ Cf. "Textbook on International Law," Part I, Berlin, 1973, p 45 ff.

antagonistic interests and aims that is played out with the aid of international politics or as the result of compromise between non-antagonistic but different interests and aims. G. I. Tunkin is therefore correct when he says that agreements by states are generally arrived at by way of mutual concessions made during negotiations.⁴

If a binding international rule of law is to be arrived at for those states which conclude an agreement, it is necessary for the agreement to cover two questions: first, the substance of the applicable rule of law; second, its acknowledgement as a rule of law, or the acknowledgement of its binding force under the law. Moreover, such an agreement is conceivable only if the participants' declarations of intent that lead up to the agreement are mutually conditional, for each partner to the agreement will obviously be prepared to deliver his declaration of intent aimed at establishing a rule of international law only if every other partner does the same.

The agreement among states therefore constitutes the basis for the fact that international rules of law are established in the form of treaties among states, among international governmental organizations and between states and organizations of this type, as well as in the form of international common law.

The agreement among states that involves binding rules of international law is not inconsistent with national sovereignty; it does not mean an infringement. On the contrary, it means the realization and exercise of this sovereignty. By virtue of the fact that states agree among themselves on legal regulations that govern their international relations, on this basis they shape their sovereign equality by means of their sovereign judgment of the substance of their agreement, thus of the substance of the rules of law that they wish to acknowledge as binding in their relations.⁵

Concerning the Significance of the Helsinki Final Act

If one looks at the legal nature of the Helsinki Final Act from this standpoint, one finds in the text incontrovertible evidence that the participating states made agreements concerning the substance of their mutual relations and stipulated specific rights and obligations.

Over the opposition of the capitalist states, the USSR and the other states of the socialist community succeeded in making questions of

⁴ Cf. G. I. Tunkin, "International Law Today," Berlin 1963, p 147.

⁵ Cf. "Textbook on International Law," loc. cit.

security in terms of their importance for assuring peace in Europe the focal point of the conference and in placing them at the beginning of the Final Act. The 10 principles of relations among states constitute the heart of the document.

By applying to the specific situation in Europe the basic principles of international law as set forth in the United Nations Charter and the UN Declaration of Principles of 24 October 1970, the participating states are using these 10 principles to make an authentic interpretation of the rights and obligations that derive for them as a legal basis for shaping their mutual relations. Drawing upon the lessons of European history, they are assigning an especially significant role to the principle of the inviolability of borders and territorial integrity.

The participants pledged to apply in like manner and without reservation all 10 principles of the Helsinki Final Act, whereby each principle must be interpreted with regard for the others. The participating states declared their resolve to observe and apply these principles fully on all points in their mutual relations and cooperation.

We can draw another significant conclusion from this: The goal of cooperation by states in the areas of economics, science, technology and the environment, as well as in humanitarian and other fields, is ultimately that of serving to implement the 10 principles of relations among states. The recommendations to participants contained in the so-called baskets I and II, which recommend taking into account the principles set forth there when developing relations further, are not based solely upon this basic set of issues. At the same time, they also take realistic account of the fact that it is impossible for a multilateral document to lay down specific obligations for all 35 states to be included when making detailed plans for their economic, cultural and other relations.

These provisions of the Final Act are thus linked to the main goal that was and is set for the Helsinki Conference: peaceful international cooperation in all areas with the goal of assuring peace and strengthening security in Europe. It is therefore out of the question to set certain parts of the Final Act against other parts. On the contrary, this Final Act with its aforementioned main objective represents a uniform document which must be viewed and realized as an entity.

As was confirmed by the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers Parties in June 1976, the effectiveness of the agreements reached in Helsinki depends to a decisive degree upon how consistent and precise all the participants are in observing the 10 principles agreed upon by them and in realizing all of the

stipulations of the Final Act, stipulations which constitute a single entity. The more consistent the participating states are in continuing their efforts aimed at strengthening European security and developing equal cooperation by states in terms of the agreements made at the Helsinki Conference, the greater the effectiveness will be. These are indispensable prerequisites for making of detente a continuous and ever more viable and comprehensive process.⁶

The certainty that we are succeeding in this struggle comes to us on the very anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution of 60 years ago.

6 Cf. "Document of the Conference of European Communist and Workers Parties, Berlin, 29 and 30 June 1976," Berlin, 1976, p 9.

7458
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EAST GERMANY

IDEOLOGICAL IMPACT OF PHYSICS DISCUSSED

East Berlin URANIA in German Vol 53 No 11, 1977 signed to press 20 Sep 77
pp 4-9

[Article by Prof Dr Herbert Hoerz, Central Institute for Philosophy, GDR Academy of Sciences: "The Ideological Importance of Physics"]

[Text] When physicists discover new elementary particles, that undoubtedly signifies an increment in natural science knowledge. Even if no technical application for it is yet in sight. The process of cognition, however, is not confined to it. Natural science data also have ideological consequences. Especially the scientific world-outlook of Marxism-Leninism is not possible without constant dialectic-materialistic research into, and integration of, natural science data, as indeed required by the natural science world-outlook, the dialectic-materialistic treatment of the research subject.

There is no gainsaying the ideological importance of physics, its influence on the picture of the world. Many physicists have seen that--from Helmholtz via Planck and Einstein all the way to Bohr and Born. Planck, for instance, made the point that a world-outlook must not contradict the natural laws. As he put it, "a researcher's world-outlook always will affect the direction of his work, and it is understood that then, vice versa, the results of his research likewise cannot remain without an impact on his world-outlook."¹ Max Born has said: "My generation dedicated itself to science for itself, thinking it could never lead to anything evil because the search for truth was good per se. That was a beautiful dream from which world events awakened us. Even the soundest sleepers woke up when in August 1945 the first atomic bombs were dropped on Japanese cities."²

Through Marxist-Leninist philosophy, the close relationship between physics and the people, its social and ideological importance, became theoretically established, and that was made permanent by the socialist social order. Wherein can it be seen?

First, the founders of Marxism-Leninism used physical science data for their scientific world-outlook. Engels analyzed the ever more prominent dialectical concept of nature on the part of many natural scientists, criticized mechanical determinism and established the idea of development.

Second, the Marxist-Leninist philosophy is doing more and more justice to its ideological and heuristic function in natural science research in that it proves not only the compatibility of new physics insights with the philosophical principles but also in that it turns more and more to a concrete analysis of certain physical disciplines, philosophical views of physicists and physics hypotheses. Only think of the importance of the Leninist statement on the inexhaustibility of matter, the precision given to the views on the necessary and the contingent, and the answers found for many epistemological and methodological questions.

Third, Marx already called industry the truly historic relationship between nature, hence natural science, and man. "The natural sciences have developed an enormous activity and appropriated constantly increasing material," he wrote in 1844, and then continued: "Philosophy, however, has remained as alien to them as they have remained to philosophy. A temporary unification was but a fantastic illusion. The will was there, but not so the capacity for it."³ Natural scientists sought to ban philosophical statements from their work. "The natural scientists were called narrow-minded by the philosophers, and the philosophers were called absurd by the natural scientists in turn,"⁴ that is how Helmholtz described the situation. The theoretical combination of philosophy and natural science was not to be confined to philosophical statements made by natural scientists, but natural science with its data, in its role in the development of productive force and in its social significance had to become a subject of philosophy. And that is what happened in Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

Fourth, socialist society creates the economic, political, ideological and moral preconditions for making use of physics data for the good of the people. The alliance between Marxist-Leninist philosophers and natural scientists solidifies. The physicist has a great responsibility in socialist society because his knowledge significantly helps improve the material and cultural standard of living.

Fifth, the educational privilege has been broken. Physics is a subject of general popular education. For developing a scientific world-outlook, one must make still better use of its potentials. Certain physics research data turn out to be ideologically relevant and therefore call especially for philosophic analysis. They may significantly affect our image of the world.

Image of the World and the World-Outlook

Because of the special role once attributed to classical physics, the image of the world physics had provided was taken as the scientific image of the

world as such. At the time when mechanical materialism was in flower, classical physics was the ideal science, its laws were accepted as the basic laws of material processes, and every complicated process was interpreted as the locomotion of qualitatively identical smallest particles. Engels, mainly in his "Dialectics of Nature," offered a dialectic-materialistic interpretation of physics at his time by demonstrating the dialectical elements in classical physics as well as uncovering the interconnection between various forms of motion within physics, whereby he rejected mechanical materialism as a philosophic interpretation of physics. What matters is to destroy the myth that classical physics has to be interpreted in terms of mechanical materialism and modern physics, through dialectical materialism. Modern physics, to be sure, makes the objective dialectic more intelligible to the physicist, but the dialectic-materialistic interpretation of classical physics also has to be developed further. The latter is what is taught in the schools. From there comes the theoretical understanding for the objective confrontation between man and nature. One must also do more accurate research on the transition from classical physics to modern physics via field theory, the unity of physics and geometry, thermodynamics, statistics and so forth, because it was not only through quantum mechanics that a new image of the world was established. It is not enough, for the history of ideological debate, to establish that some physicists made the transition from mechanical materialism to indeterminism, but one must pay great attention to the implicit physical and explicit philosophic critique of mechanical determinism so as not to fall prey to the notion of the collapse of the classical image of the world brought about by modern physics. That would leave out of account not only the critique by the founders of Marxism-Leninism on mechanical materialism but many impulses toward dialectical thinking among the natural scientists as well.

A distinction can be made between world-outlook and the image of the world if by world-outlook is understood a system of answers to the questions about the origin of existence and the development of the world, the source of knowledge, the position of man in the world, the purpose of life and the nature of social progress. The scientific world-outlook established by Marxist-Leninist philosophy uses natural science data for scientifically explaining its answers. It is part of social consciousness. The image of the world itself is a complex of ideologically relevant scientific insights, philosophical interpretations and knowledge based on practical experiences, theories rendered visible and maxims of conduct. To that extent then the image of the world itself is an existing phenomenon that will have to be analyzed scientifically. The formation of a scientific world-outlook is a complicated process for an individual in which contradictions may arise between the image of the world the individual holds and the ideological answers to certain questions furnished by the Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Some questions may well be insufficiently answered. Here we should be concerned with more effectively tapping the ideological potentials of physics. Results of philosophical discussions about physics are essential for forming the image of the world.

Some Results of Philosophic Discussions

Three problem areas have for a long time commanded the center of attention in philosophic discussion: the subject-object relation, which is so important to an understanding of materialism; determinism; and the infinity of matter. The discussions about these subjects certainly have not reached a conclusion.

Some arguments directed against materialism turned out to be a critique of mechanical materialism which in the first half of our century was held to be identical with materialism as such by many physicists and philosophers. Thus one could, first of all, use the thesis that while experimenting the physicist would only be creating the conditions under which physical processes occurred to deny the existence of objectively real processes altogether. That view was expressed in the statements about an uncontrollable interchange between the means of observation and the object observed, about the impossibility of separating the subject from the object, and about physical objects not being cognizable as such. One had to abandon the classical cognitive ideal of an object existing per se, as one had to consider the interchange between the objects.

As Marxist-Leninist philosophy here, pertaining to the interconnection among objects, places the emphasis on the phenomenality of essences in interchange, it yet, as far as the cognition of objective reality is concerned, always stresses practical activity. The practical is the point of departure, the foundation and end of cognition. It is the criterion for truth. Essential characteristics of physical processes appear under defined conditions in experimental facilities. Those essential factors have to be theoretically analyzed, formulated by scientific laws, and the consequences of it must then again be checked in practice.

While we may risk a somewhat simplified manner of putting it, we may say that the epistemological error basic to the critique of materialism was the conclusion: if the subject deliberately affects the objective process, then the object cannot be independent from the subject. Process and outcome are not being kept apart. The independence between object and subject that dialectical materialism insists on does not pertain to the practical alteration of objective reality, which is deliberately effected by the subject, but to the invariants vis-a-vis human action which are understood as laws. In that sense then the results of cognition are relatively precise reflections of objective reality. The process of cognition is the deliberate alteration of objectively real objects and processes for the sake of gaining a better understanding of their essence. To that end, the subject uses the theoretical and practical analysis and synthesis of the objects. In emphasizing the creative character of consciousness, Lenin said: "Human consciousness not only reflects the world, it creates it too."⁵

Secondly, we are concerned here with the argument against mechanical determinism. For many physicists there had always been this dilemma: If everything happening in nature is predetermined and this applies to all processes, then there is no freedom of the will. But if the freedom of the will exists, then a definitive predetermination is out. Two components determine the image of the world: the force of natural law and the irrationality of freedom. When quantum mechanics was developed, there were some who thought they could get out of mechanical materialism and dualism by stipulating the "electron's freedom of the will." As Engels already had shown, the argument against mechanical determinism principally has to be advanced through the recognition of the existence and the analysis of objective contingents. The mechanistic-determinist conception of causality identified with necessity, law, predetermination and predictability turned out to be one-sided. Based on the dialectic of law and chance, dialectical determinism has shown that the investigation of objective laws combines with the disclosure of fields of possibilities for objective conduct and of conditioned coincidences.

Ideologically important, thirdly, are the discussions of the infinity of matter in relation to the development of physics. Infinity was identified with spatial and temporal boundlessness. That brought on philosophical problems once the physical importance of non-Euclidian geometries was recognized. For dialectical materialism the cognition of the infinity of matter is a summation of essential yet partial cognitions. They include the inexhaustibility of objects, processes and relations, the eternal change of form, and space-time as the form in which matter exists. While the horizon of our understanding does broaden constantly, it yet can never embrace the inexhaustible variety of past, present and future material objects and processes.

Engels always pointed to the contradictoriness in our cognition of the infinite, for all we can cognize are finite objects with a limited duration of existence. But all truly exhaustive cognition, according to Engels, consists in "our raising, in thought, the unique to the special, and this, to the general, in our finding, and observing, the infinite in the finite, the eternal in the transitory. The form of the general, however, is the form of the self-contained, thus of infinity; it is the consummation of all the finite entities in the infinite. The cognition of the infinite can, by definition, only proceed through an unending asymptotic process. And that is perfectly enough for us to be able to say: the infinite is just as cognizable as it is not cognizable, and that is all that we need."⁶

The discovery of new space-time structures in physical processes does not alter the answers to the ideological question about the infinity of matter. Natural science investigates the space-time conditions under which natural events occur. It develops theories about the space-time relations which are relatively precise reflections of objectively real space-time structures. Philosophy cannot accept as solely existent any of these known, or still to be discovered, space-times unless it is ready to abandon

its conception of space-time as the form in which matter exists. If there is an eternal change of qualitative form and the objects and processes are inexhaustible, then the objectively real space-time structures also are potentially inexhaustible.

The Unity of Physics and Unified Physics Theories

Efforts are always being made at presenting the interconnection of physics processes through unified physics theories. That may perhaps hide the attempt to obtain a unified picture of the world. What is attempted by presenting the unity of physics through unified theories pertains to the aspect of the unity of the world in its materiality. That indicates epistemological problems that are waiting to be solved. If we understand physics as a science of the structural, motive and developmental laws of inorganic objects and processes, then the unity of physics relates to the internal inevitable interrelation of these interconnecting objects and processes.

The development of physics shows the proclivity to general theories. If such a trend is rendered absolute it leads to the demand for presenting the internal interconnection of physical processes by a universal law or a unified theory. But that is not where we are as yet. Almost all physicists developing programs for it are clamoring for a simplification of unified theory. That means they would wish to maximize the explanation of physics processes by means of a minimum of expenditure in only a few initial parameters and their functional relations. However, the history of physics shows that the qualitative variety of physical processes will always become evident again whenever new areas are opened up and relative constants in nature are crossed or approximated. Only recall low temperature physics, high energy physics, the effects of quantum mechanics and relativity, the new systems with solid state physics and so forth. It all goes to show that any simple general theory labors under the difficulty of having to account for such qualitative variety.

The proclivity toward general theories has to do with the development of special theories. The simplicity of the initial equations gets coupled with complicated formalisms by which experimental results are derived from theory. Thus far, unified theories have failed due to mathematical difficulties in combining theory with experiments. It is precisely the inexhaustibility and qualitative variety of physics processes that provoke the disclosure of new sides of physics processes. To that extent then the design of unified theories for disclosing internal interconnections of areas that previously have been distinct is connected with the experimental investigation and theoretical interpretation of new areas and new sides.

The unity of the world in its materiality, furthermore, appears in the physics area as internal interconnection--realized by the transformation of elementary particles into one another--of qualitatively diverse objects and processes. Material structure is a unity of kinds and forms of matter.

Unified physics theories have to take account of that connection, regardless of whether they proceed from the form of matter, that is, space-time as physically realized in gravitation or from the symmetrical properties in the elementary particle processes. Unified theories always reduce the qualitative variety to fundamental relations among elements or systems.

Many particle physicists seek to get an ever better idea of the qualitative variety of the elementary particle processes in order to obtain indications concerning internal interconnections. In doing this, Heisenberg does away with the inexhaustibility by regarding the elementary particles and their interchange as the ultimate foundation for physical **processes**, concluding that by his elementary length. To him, the question about the parts of the particles are misplaced questions. Heisenberg's unified theory thus would mean nailing down, for once and for all, what has become known thus far about the internal interconnection of qualitatively different physical objects. Such an approach, however, orients physics inadequately to new particles and their interconnections. The knowledge gained thus far about the qualitative variety of the elementary particle processes evidently is not adequate for designing a unified theory on elementary particles.

Furthermore, the dialectical relationship between system and element is an essential aspect of the development of theory. What one knows about the philosophical conception of the systems of statistical rules has hitherto not been adequately confronted with the historical and contemporary material in the formation of physics theories for us to be able to draw further conclusions. But this much is already certain: from a theory on the relations among elements relations among systems cannot be deduced, and relations of systems presuppose idealized elements that have no qualitative variety. Unified physics theories always are framework theories for physical behavior embracing the dynamic aspects of the elementary particle processes known thus far or of gravitation.

What helps in this also is the unity of experimental and theoretical work, which one must never lose sight of. If the experiment is an objective analyzer of objective reality, deliberately employed by man to answer questions about reality, thus existing as the criterion for the truth of theories, then theory is a reflection of objectively real, experimentally tested inevitable interconnections. If unified theories are successfully developed in certain areas of physics or for the unity of physics, that would still not obviate an experimental search for qualitatively new effects.

Cognition and Responsibility

Doing physics does not mean merely accumulating knowledge about natural processes. In our socialist state science and technology are of great importance. Placed on them are social expectations that they will make a great contribution to improving the people's material and cultural standard of living. A greater effectiveness of scientific research, a more rapid allocation of science data to production and the development of creativity

are essential factors for the continued fulfillment of the main task and, with it, for the realization of our humanistic goal. And this cannot merely involve the responsibility society has to science, which is shown in the requirements, means, controls and use of science data. The physicists have an increasing responsibility for the solution of tasks and problems. That combines, in what each does, what he knows of social demands with his contribution to social activities. Responsibility means the demand placed on man to anticipate the consequences of anything he does, prevent harmful consequences, promote progressive ones, make full use of his actions and their results, based on the decisions made, and draw conclusions for further conduct. This sense of responsibility does not come automatically. It calls for an understanding of the importance of the personal commitment to social progress and for the courage to criticize deficiencies. Living up to one's responsibility today means not only acting in conformity with social norms but also making expert decisions as the basis on which one's acts are placed.

FOOTNOTES

1. M. Planck, "Die Physik im Kampf um die Weltanschauung" (Physics in Struggling for a World-Outlook), Leipzig, 1935, p 4.
2. H. Born and M. Born, "Der Luxus des Gewissens" (The Luxury of Conscience), Munich, 1969, pp 183 f.
3. Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), supplementary volume part 1, Berlin, 1968, p 543.
4. H. v. Helmholtz, "Philosophische Vortraege und Aufsaetze" (Philosophic Lectures and Essays), Berlin, 1971, p 85.
5. V. I. Lenin, "Werke," Vol 38, Berlin, 1964, p 203.
6. Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 20, Berlin, 1973, pp 501 f.

5885
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HUNGARY

SAINT STEPHEN'S CROWN DISCLAIMED AS CONSTITUTIONAL SYMBOL

Budapest HAZAI TUDOSITASOK in Hungarian 15 Nov 77 pp 8-10

[Unsigned article: "Returning Treasures: The Story of the Hungarian Crown"]

[Text] (MTI reports: A spokesman for the State Department of the United States has announced that the Hungarian crown and coronation regalia will be returned to Hungary.)

In the legal view of the feudal states which developed in the Middle Ages--and thus in Hungary too--the royal crown was the personification and symbol of the state (of the power and of the region). This early constitutional view was expanded further in Hungary in 1514 by Istvan Werboczi in his book "Tripartitum" with the "doctrine of the Holy Crown." This doctrine barred the serfs from the concept of the "nation" by stating that the nobles and lords constituting the "nation" had one and the same prerogatives (una et eadem libertas). And although the "Tripartitum" was never proclaimed--due to intervening historical events--which is to say it never became law, the reactionary regimes which followed one after another regarded the teaching as the foundation for oppressive and rights denying measures. After the Compromise of 1867 it was used to oppress the nationalities and the counter-revolutionary regime following 1919 tried to support its revisionist policy by emphasizing, among other things, "Hungarian supremacy" based on the teaching of the Holy Crown.

With the liberation of the country in 1945 the symbolic constitutional significance of the Holy Crown ended once and for all, the country and all power in the country became the people's. Despite this, people's democratic Hungary again and again urged the return of the crown and the coronation regalia which had come into the possession of the United States as a result of the events of the war; they were historic relics and treasures which had great museum value and which still constituted the property of the people's state. Now, after many unsuccessful discussions, the crown and the coronation regalia will soon be returned--as we can see from the report quoted.

A Path of Tribulation

This event provides an occasion for recalling briefly the story of the crown of King Saint Stephen, a story of wanderings, concealment and evasion worthy of a novel. Briefly, because columns would be needed if we wanted to follow precisely its paths of tribulation.

The troubled fate of the crown began with the disturbances which followed the extinction of the House of Arpad. At the beginning of the 14th century, King Wenceslaus took it to Bohemia. Otto, the next ruler, who always carried it with him, lost it and it was found in a marsh. When it was discovered, Laszlo Apor, Voivod of Transylvania, snatched it from the king and it could be regained only with difficulty in 1310, during the reign of Karoly Robert. Hereafter it was guarded in Buda, in the royal treasury, and then by turns in Esztergom and Visegrad. After the death of King Albert (1439) his widow Erzsebet stole it and pawned the crown of King Stephen to the Emperor Friedrich IV, whence it returned only after 24 years at the beginning of the reign of King Matyas (1464).

The paths of the crown were even more serpentine at the time of the Mohacs defeat and the Turkish occupation. For a while it was in the court of Janos Szapolyai, then it was carried to Pozsony [Bratislava], to Visegrad, to Szekesfehervar, to Vienna and to Prague and it was guarded in the castle of Zolyom, in Kassa [Kosice], Eperjes and Ecsed. It frequently changed its location during the Rakoczi uprising and when Kara Mustapha marched on Vienna in 1683 it was carried to safety from Pozsony through Vienna to Linz and then to Passau. Josef II (the "hatted king") came to the throne in 1780 and he handled the crown as a relic and placed it among the curiosities of the imperial treasury in Vienna. After 10 years, yielding to the desires of the Hungarians, he permitted it to be taken to Buda. At the time of the 1848 freedom fight the crown was taken to Debrecen and following the loss of the battle of Temesvar [Timisoara] it was buried in a garden near Orsova. From there, after much searching, it went to Vienna and then, in September 1853, again to Buda. Its last "role" was in 1916 when Karoly IV, Franz Josef's successor, was crowned with it in the Matyas Church. Between the two wars the crown of Saint Stephen was kept in a special room in the Buda Castle and a 24 member military unit was created to guard it--wearing a more ornate uniform which differed from that of the army.

By the end of October 1944 the guns of the liberating Soviet army already thundered below Budapest, but Szalasi, the Arrow Cross chief, swaggeringly took the "nation leader" oath before the crown of Saint Stephen on 4 November. It was then decided that the crown--and their own skins--must be saved by fleeing to the west before the victoriously advancing Red Army. Colonel Erno Pajtas, commander of the crown guard, after a long adventurous trip through Veszprem and Koszeg, buried the crown and the other regalia--with the exception of the sword--in a cut open gasoline drum near a little Bavarian village (Mattsee). The American troops were already in Bavaria;

Pajtas and his group gave themselves up and then confessed before the American interrogation team where they had hidden the national treasure "on Szalasi's orders." Units of the American army found the crown in Mattsee and took it, together with the regalia, first to Frankfurt and later to the US. The Relic of the Holy Right Hand of Saint Stephen, also carried to the west, returned home in 1946 and now, as the report states, the crown and associated regalia of the first king, Saint Stephen, are returned to Hungary as Hungarian treasures representing a great historical and museum value.

The Crown and the Coronation Regalia

The Crown. King Stephen I crowned himself with a crown received from Pope Sylvester II. According to early Hungarian research the upper part of the royal crown made out of arched hoops is the crown received from the Pope (corona latina) and the pictures of the apostles of cloisonne enamel decorated with Latin inscriptions were made about the time of the millenium, probably in Rome. The lower part (corona graeca) was given to our king Geza I between 1074 and 1077 by Emperor Michael (Ducas) VII. Its cloisonne enamel panels with Greek inscriptions were prepared in the imperial workshop in Constantinople.

Foreign authors dealing with this question reconstruct the origin of the Hungarian crown in a way substantially different from this. According to them the panels of the upper part, bent into hoops, originally served to frame some flat object (book cover, ikon or reliquary) and the cloisonne enamel pictures of the 12 apostles and portraying the Christ as master of the world (Pantokrator) were made in Hungary in the first quarter of the 13th century. The hoop was probably an open female crown made in the last quarter of the 12th century for Anna Antiochiae, the first wife of Bela III, which was decorated with precious stones, ten cloisonne enamel panels and above them triangular and curved blue and green openwork enamelled crests. The gems suspended on gold chains are characteristic decorations of Byzantine crowns. The cloisonne enamel panels depicting the Byzantine emperors, King Geza and the archangels come from a piece of work given to our king Geza the First by Michael (Ducas) VII.

After the death of Bela IV (1270), one of his daughters, accompanied by Anna, fled to the Czech King Ottokar II in Prague. They took with them many works from the royal treasury including two crowns. Stephen V, in the short time between the death of his father and the coronation, could not get the crown back and so he had made the crown we know today making use of objects remaining in the royal treasury. This quick work would explain why some panels were cut from the bent panels of the apostles and why it was combined with the open crown in such a crude way.

According to measurements taken by the Academy in 1882 the crown weighs 2,056 grams, its larger diameter is 216 mm and its smaller is 203 mm.

The Sceptre. It has a picture of three lions cut in its rock crystal head. The setting of the crystal ball and its gilded silver staff are decorated with wire filigree. It is a 12th century Hungarian work.

The Coronation Robe. Originally it was a bell shaped vestment which, according to the inscription, King Stephen and Queen Gizella gave to the Szekesfehervar basilica in 1031. The rich embroidered scenes made of gold and silver thread on Byzantine scarlet silk depict the idea of a Te Deum celebrating the victory over the German Emperor Conrad II when he invaded Hungary. It became the coronation robe at the end of the 12th century.

The Orb. It is a gilded silver sphere decorated with a twin cross. It is the youngest piece in the coronation regalia. On the basis of its enamelled shield it is probable that it was made in the first half of the 14th century during the reign of Karoly Robert. It is probably a copy of an earlier piece lost in the 12th century.

8984
CSO: 2500

HUNGARY

UPGRADING OF HISTORY TEACHING URGED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 16 Dec 77 p 7

[Unsigned article: "Third National History Teaching Conference Ends"]

[Text] "The school student of today is receiving an ever larger part of his history information from a source other than the alma mater or the study materials. It follows from the swift development of mass communication that more and more of them are obtaining historical information outside of school. So it is necessary to teach a nucleus of historical fact which will make comprehensible the fundamental course of history and make it possible for the students to receive the historical information coming from many sources," Otto Szabolcs, first secretary of the Hungarian Historical Society, told MTI on the final day, Thursday, of the third national history teaching conference.

"The scientific conference weighed the development over the last decade of teaching in general and secondary schools, reviewed and debated the state of history teaching and designated the tasks for further development.

"A lively debate developed concerning the history teaching material in the new study plans. The experts agreed that it was a correct idea for the study plans to contain the theatics of basic material which had to be used and to offer separately supplementary material which gives greater possibilities."

8984
CSO: 2500

POLAND

EMIGRE PHILOSOPHER SCORED FOR DEPARTURE FROM MARXISM

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 22 Nov 77 p 4

[Article by Col Kazimierz Ochocki: "Anticommunism and Mysticism; the Philosophical Meanderings and Metamorphoses of Leszek Kolakowski"]

[Text] The presentday ideological struggle, which is increasingly taking on the nature of a global confrontation between socialism and capitalism, is polarizing and sharpening the positions taken in it. Because of the internal logic of its development, there are basic values, views of the world, and political orientations backed by certain social groups and various individuals. This also applies to people involved in science, thinking, and philosophy, people sometimes with a predilection to subtle, refined deliberation. In short, the oft-repeated Marxist principle of "party-oriented" philosophy time and again appears, to some extent being exemplified in the fate of individuals and social groups.

We can see this clearly, for example, among that part of the bourgeois scholars who are directly involved in a struggle against Marxism and real socialism. Because of the attempts to make anticommunist criticism scientific criticism, academic groups in capitalist countries joined in, elements specialized in fighting Marxist ideology were formed, and special publications and even monographs were published which systematically penetrated the ideology and reality of socialism and various areas of its cultural, sociopolitical, and economic life, to say nothing of extensive espionage and sabotage aimed at undermining the defense capability of countries of the socialist community.

The structure of the contemporary ideological struggle is characterized by the great diversity of its "component parts," from pamphlets, rumors, sensationalist anticommunist gutter press and infamous Radio Free Europe-type broadcasting to "more substantial" installations calculated to fit the tastes of individual social groups, right up to "scientific justification for the fight against communism." The varied nature and abundance of the means and forms used in the capitalist world in the struggle against socialism do not change the fact that the supreme task and common denominator have been and are to combat real socialism.

Contemporary anticomunism is anxious to avail itself of the assistance given it by the anti-Soviet and antisocialist leadership of modern People's China, the help and support of international revisionism, and of all the forces in the international workers movement which, in seeking new ways to fight for socialism, lose sight of the proved truths of Marxism and provide incentive for criticism of real socialism.

The modern ideological struggle shows many different hues and colors. The argumentation employed in it changes along with the key problems which are the subject of dispute. But after all, they do have their own special characteristics, consequences, and involvements which sometimes lead to astonishing outcomes, especially for the superficial observer. This can be exemplified by recent statements and the renown given in the West to Leszek Kolakowski on the occasion of his being awarded the West German book prize.

Let us review the basic facts. Leszek Kolakowski was born in Radom in 1927. After studying at the university and receiving a doctorate in philosophy, he became a professor and headed the chair of modern philosophy at the University of Warsaw. Banished from the university for his participation in inciting students to disturbances and street demonstrations he was suspended from university teaching (and earlier expelled from the party). In 1969 he went abroad and there began to work as a lecturer at Oxford University in England.

At the beginning of his academic career he wrote dissertations devoted to the history of modern and medieval philosophy and undertook the criticism of such modern directions as neo-Thomism, neopositivism, pragmatism, and, among the earlier trends, conventionalism and others. He also popularized philosophy, public affairs, and philosophical essays. At the time he declared himself to be a Marxist, although very early, back in the middle of the 1950's, his creative work began to take on clearly revisionist characteristics (viz, for example, his articles in NOWA KULTURA: "What Do Philosophers Live Off Of?", "The Current and Out-of-Date Concepts of Marxism," and "Karl Marx and the Classical Definition of Truth," published in STUDIA FILOZOFOFICZNE, of which he was editor for a short time.

As time went by Kolakowski not only became the chief representative of revisionism in Marxism but also increasingly assumed an adversary position towards the policy of the party and socialist construction in Poland. He not only attacked this policy in an exceptionally aggressive way, using malicious words, but also undertook certain oppositional actions, taking part in meetings and rallies, inciting young people against the socialist system and leadership.

Expelled from the party and suspended from his teaching duties at the university, (although he was left a place to work at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences), he chose to emigrate. There too he increasingly expanded his antisocialist activity directed against People's Poland. He used his journalism to build up various centers of anticom-

munism, mainly in the Paris-based publication KULTURA, granted many interviews in which he slandered socialism; using uncultured vocabulary and epithets against it.

He is anxious to pass himself off as "an open Marxist," an advocate of "democratic socialism," a representative of social leftism, but it turns out that even this garb served him only temporarily. He changed to flagrant anticommunism and skittishly broke off with Marxism.

In connection with Kolakowski's receiving the above-mentioned award of the West German publishers, he granted the well-known Hamburg weekly DER ZEIT a press interview, published in No 43, 14 October of this year, under the very significant title: "Marxism Is the Opiate of the People" ("Marxismus ist Opium des Volkes").

This is the way Kolakowski characterizes Marxism: "As I see it today Marxism is sterile as universal knowledge... Because in the strict sense historical materialism is absurd. Marxism is pseudomythology which seeks to give history some meaning... The Marxist concept of man's liberation is a superstition, and any sort of superstition has the danger of compulsion, because if reconciliation (Die Versöhnung) with us, with the world, by nature is not only possible but also necessary, then communism as a science about Promethean self-liberation is at the same time a science of compulsion."

Kolakowski's interviewer, Fritz J. Raddatz, feels, however, that in his own critical trance Kolakowski is beginning simply to talk poppycock, which after all has sometimes happened to various anticommunists. The more sober ones among them after all realize that one cannot consider Marxism to be nonsense and at the same time fail to note such obvious facts as the existence of the socialist world run on the basis of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, or the existence of powerful communist movements and parties in the West guided by this science, or its visible influence on the intellectuals and scientific milieus in the West.

Raddatz also comes right out and asks Kolakowski with his crushing criticism of Marxism: "If this is so, how do you explain the fact that so many people accept Marxism as a method and try to use it?" Kolakowski's answer is: "We cannot say that Marxism is a method of humanities (Der Geisteswissenschaften), but rather it appears as a political ideology. And this is the source of the irrational hope."

Even to Raddatz this answer did not seem to hold water, inasmuch as he politely noted: "Of course you are exaggerating."

But this was the end which crowned the work. Kolakowski, who started with the criticism of religious ideologies, has changed so far that he himself is going more and more toward acceptance. In this connection, let us recall two of Kolakowski's former statements:

"There is indeed no better means for making anybody the submissive servant of an exploiter and the meek idolater of capitalist conditions like tying him to his exploitation by supernatural bonds" ("On So-Called Thomist Realism," MYSŁ FILOZOFICZNA, 1954, No 1, p 191).

"Even for the fathers of the church the dogma of original sin was one of the arguments in favor of private ownership. In a sinless society there could be a community of goods, but original sin forced owners to take up the heavy burden of ownership. Thinking about socialism's conflict with the dogma of original sin is repeated throughout Catholic literature. Another direct effect of original sin is social inequality..." ("A Person's Rights" as opposed to the rights of man, MYSŁ FILOZOFICZNA, 1955, No 1, p 152).

This is what Kolakowski wrote at one time, but in the meantime, along with his political evolution, there was also an evolution taking place in his world outlook. This was noted by the National Democratic emigre biweekly, MYSŁ POLSK (1-15 August 1977), which wrote: "The pronouncements of former Polish communists: Adam Michnik, Prof Leszek Kolakowski, and others who are disillusioned with their previous ideology and have begun to betray an interest (but not a drive, because haste is not desirable among scientists, who must first of all examine everything) in Catholicism, are being joined by their appeals for understanding, dialogue, and conciliation between them and Catholics, appeals coming in from various quarters."

And really, in the above-mentioned DER ZEIT interview, after Kolakowski had presented his vision of man, his culture, and history (because of this his interviewer dubbed him the Schopenhauer of Warsaw), he was asked outright by the DIE ZEIT representative: "Are you a Christian?" To this Kolakowski answered: "Not in the sense of belonging to some church or sect, but I see myself as a participant in the living Christian culture. Man is at one and the same time good and bad. Evil is animate. I believe in original sin (Ich glaube an die These von der Erbsunde)."

Kolakowski has come a long way from youthful declared Marxism and atheism to upholding the myth of "open," "intellectual," but captive" Marxism and communism, to a flagrant, aggressive anticommunism, and even fideism. In its own way this is an interesting example of how far Kolakowski has come (and is going) in this evolution of his politics and world outlook. Those who remember him from reading his work and from personal contacts are well aware that after all here it is a question not of some sort of trite mind, of some intellectual mediocrity or average. By his unquestioned philosophical erudition, his intellectual horizons, he has created around him an aura of a thinking of great rank. Many have attached to him hopes for his wonderful scientific development.

Meanwhile, what Kolakowski is presenting in the West as a journalist and critic of Marxism is astounding not only by measure of proof and argumentation but, above all, by exceptional maliciousness in his choice of words and directions of criticism. Even professional anticommunists are offended by this simplification and absolute vulgarization, which are features of Kolakowski's reasoning, when he expresses himself on the subject of Marxism.

and socialism. They are simply well aware from their own experience that such a battle with Marxism does not pay from the viewpoint of the goals which they have set for themselves, that, in short, it is not very effective.

To treat Marxism as a type of belief for the masses, history as "a series of miracles and coincidences; everything is an accident," man as "invariably evil," to talk about the mutual exclusivity of "universal planning and the small individuals," "freedom and equality," "democracy and communism," as Kolakowski does, is indeed neither original nor today very wise. For anybody, but a historian of philosophy should know better.

In the case of Kolakowski, there is one more actually rather banal statement of these dialectics of life, views, convictions, and feelings of the individual, who, under the conditions by which he lives and works, affirms and chooses what in an overwhelming way defines the face of the contemporary world, the capitalist system along with its ideological justification, or the socialist system with its Promethean ideology. *Tertium non datur.* But if it were not an obvious truth, then the very choice and especially the resultant consequences would not be banal but very dramatic and complicated.

Kolakowski made such a choice long ago, joining actively into the current of activity of contemporary anticommunism.

10790
CSO: 2600

ROMANIA

LAW ON PUBLIC CONTROL SYSTEM AMENDED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 115,15 Nov 77 pp 1-4

/Decree No 384 of the Council of State on Amending Law No 6/1972 on the Organization and Operation of Public Control/

/Text/ For the purpose of improving the control activity of working people and taking into account the proposals resulting from the countrywide meeting and county meetings of working peoples control units, the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees the following:

Article 1. Law No 6/1972 on the Organization and Operation of Public Control is amended as follows:

1. The title of the law is reformulated as follows : "Law on the Organization and Operation of Working Peoples Control."

2. Article 1 will have the following content:

"Article 1. Working peoples control is carried out with the broad collaboration of citizens from cities and villages, in state and cooperative socialist units for the purpose of improving the activity of supplying and serving the population and working and social-cultural conditions."

3. Chapter I¹: "The Coordination and Guidance of Working Peoples Control Activity" is to be introduced following Chapter I, "General Provisions," with the following content:

"Chapter I¹: Coordination and Guidance of Working Peoples Control Activity."

"Article 4¹: The unified guidance and coordination of working peoples control activity is carried out by the councils of the Socialist Unity Front in close connection with the councils of worker control of economic and social activity.

"Article 4²: The commissions for coordination and guidance of working peoples control activity will be comprised of representatives of the mass and public organizations which are part of the Socialist Unity Front, councils of worker control of economic and social activity, executive committees or bureaus of the peoples councils, specialized state control inspections, economic and social units subject to the control, militia organs as well as working peoples control teams.

"The listing of names on the commissions is established by the executive bureaus of the councils of the Socialist Unity Front within the limit of the number provided in the Appendix.

"The president of the county, municipal and city commissions and those of the sectors of Bucharest municipality is the vice president of the worker control council of economic and social activity. In villages, the commission president will be one of the vice presidents of the village council of the Socialist Unity Front.

"Bureaus formed of a president, vice president and three to five members constitute the commissions for efficient leadership of activity.

"Article 4³. The Central Commission for Coordination and Guidance of Working Peoples Control Activity under the leadership of the National Council of the Socialist Unity Front ensures the unified organization and development of working peoples control; it guides the activity of the local commissions; it analyzes the problems resulting from findings of the control teams and proposes measures to the National Council of the Socialist Unity Front, the Central Council of Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity as well as ministries and other central organs with a view to continually improving the activity in the units subject to working peoples control.

"The county, municipal and city commissions and those of the sectors of Bucharest municipality and villages for coordination and guidance of working peoples activity, under the leadership of the councils of the Socialist Unity Front, aid the activity of the working peoples control teams, take action to achieve joint control with the worker control councils and specialized state control organs and seek the efficient solution of the proposals in the units controlled made as a result of control.

"Article 4⁴. On the basis of the authority given by the councils of the Socialist Unity Front, together with the executive committees or bureaus of the peoples councils, the members of the commissions for coordination and guidance of working peoples control activity control the way the proposals of the working peoples control teams are solved, determining to take the necessary measures

to eliminate the defects and causes of them in the units and organs above them.

"In the situations where the commissions find repeated defects and a lack of interest in examining and solving the proposals made by the control teams, they inform the councils of worker control, of economic and social activity so that, in accordance with the rights given them by law, they take measures to eliminate the shortcomings, improve activity and penalize the persons guilty of violating the legal provisions.

"Article 4⁵. For the purpose of analyzing the working peoples control activity, generalizing the positive experience and establishing measures to improve and continually raise its efficiency the Socialist Unity Front organizes working meetings in villages, cities, sectors of Bucharest municipality, municipalities, counties and Bucharest municipality and countrywide meetings of the worker control units.

"The working meetings in villages, cities, sectors of Bucharest municipality and municipalities will take place annually while those of the counties and Bucharest municipality--once every two years.

"The countrywide meeting is organized once every four years."

4. Article 5 will have the following content:

"Article 5. Working peoples control is carried out in the following units:

- "a) State and cooperative units which carry out projects and provide services for the population;
- "b) State and cooperative commercial and public food units, cafeterias and restaurants, warehouses for preserving and conserving goods, markets, fairs, as well as any other places where goods or products are sold;
- "c) Cooperative units which produce consumer goods;
- "d) Cultural-artistic institutes of plays, culture houses, clubs, cultural halls, movies, museums, libraries, memorial houses as well as institutes which ensure the preservation of historical monuments;
- "e) Health, hospital, ambulatory institutes as well as nurseries and kindergartens which operate outside the economic units;
- "f) Pharmacies and units selling technical-medical products;

- "g) Homes for children and institutes for protecting minors;
- "h) Dormitories of the educational institutes and for the elderly;
- "i) Spas, hotels and other units accommodating the population;
- "j) Joint transport enterprises;
- "k) Enterprises of housing administration, the ones which carry out repairs in the homes, housing construction job sites and units for constructing and selling homes;
- "l) Enterprises of communal economy, administration of parks, amusement areas and sports bases;
- "m) Offices of social security and pensions, services and sections which appraise labor forces, office which distribute the labor force and social assistance offices;
- "n) Post offices, telephone and radio offices."

5. Article 6a), d), h) and i) will have the following content:

- "a) Achievement of product quality and diversification of assortments in the cooperative units which produce consumer goods, maintain, preserve and provide appropriate packaging for goods and raw materials as well as respect for the delivery schedules to the beneficiaries;"
- "d) The transport, handling, preservation and good management of goods and products to the commercial units;"
- "h) Ensuring medical aid to the population in hospitals, polyclinics, ambulance stations, health departments, dispensaries and at home; continual improvement in the conditions for raising the quality of this activity;"
- "i) Application of hygiene-health standards in the units subject to control;"

6. Letters a¹ and f¹ are introduced following Article 6a) and 6f), respectively, with the following content:

- "a¹) The quality of home construction projects, materials used, respect for the project schedules and terms for being placed into operation;"
- "f¹) Ensuring guard for public goods, concern for the good preservation and use of them;"

7. Article 8, paragraph 2, will have the following content:

"Members of the working peoples control teams are chosen for a period of one year."

8. Article 10 will have the following content:

"Article 10. Working peoples control over respect for the standards of labor protection is carried out by trade unions through the councils of worker control of economic and social activity in the socialist units where they take action as well as through public activists.

"The trade unions also participate together with the National Council for Environmental Protection and county commissions in control activity with regard to the way legal provisions for preventing water, air and ground pollution are respected as well as for combatting noise in all state socialist units."

9. Articles 13 and 14 will have the following content:

"Article 13. In their activity the working peoples control teams cooperate with deputies of the peoples councils, citizens committees as well as with civic committees and councils of parents. The method of cooperation is established by the local organs of the Socialist Unity Front together with the executive committees or bureaus of the peoples councils.

"Article 14. The working peoples control teams carry out control once quarterly or as many times as they think necessary, depending on the specific nature of the socialist units to which they are assigned.

"At the request of the teams, the unit leader and its personnel or cooperative members from the controlled unit are obligated to present acts and give the reports requested, under conditions provided by law, as well as to place at their disposal the control apparatus needed to carry out the checks."

10. A new paragraph with the following content is introduced to Article 15:

"The control teams inform the municipal and city commissions and those in the sectors of the Bucharest municipality or villages for the coordination and guidance of working peoples control activity on the findings and proposals made."

11. Articles 16-21 will have the following content:

"Article 16. If the working peoples control teams feel that the facts found and entered into the single control record are violations or infractions, according to the case, it informs the competent organs with a view to applying the violational penalties or organs of criminal investigation. If the facts found are disciplinary deviations or are acts which bring material responsibility or are in the competence of the court commissions, it informs the leadership of the socialist organization the unit is part of, proposing that appropriate measures be taken or that the guilty ones are penalized, according to the case.

"Article 17. In the case where working peoples control teams find that the units controlled place goods for sale which are dangerous to the population's health, it immediately informs the leadership of the socialist organization the unit is part of and the competent organs, which are obligated to present themselves immediately on the spot in order to take the necessary measures, in accordance with the law.

"Article 18. The working peoples control teams will request the aid of the councils of worker control of economic and social activity and trade union organizations in the units controlled with a view to efficiently solving the lacks determined. The defects in the activity of the personnel or members of the cooperative found by the control teams will be analyzed in the labor collective of which they are part, in the meetings of the trade union groups or of cooperative members for the purpose of eliminating them and preventing other violations.

"The collective leadership organs as many times as necessary analyze the findings and proposals of the working peoples control teams, establishing appropriate measures to prevent and eliminate defects. Representatives of the local councils of the Socialist Unity Front and of the councils of worker control of economic and social activity will be invited to these analyses.

"Quarterly, with the occasion of the working peoples general meetings, the leaders of the units subject to control will provide information in the reports presented on the way the findings and proposals made were resolved by the working peoples control teams. Members of the teams which carried out the control in the respective units also will be invited to these meetings.

"Article 19. Members of the working peoples control teams as well as members of the coordination and guidance commissions, in exercising the rights and in fulfilling their duties, enjoy protection of the law just as the persons who fulfill jobs which involve exercising state authority.

"Article 20. Ministries, other state and cooperative central organs and executive committees or bureaus of the peoples councils which the socialist units in which the working peoples control is made are under are obligated to make an annual analysis of the reports and proposals made by the control teams and the way they were solved in the organs of collective leadership, before the representatives of the Socialist Unity Front and Central Council of Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity and to establish measures for the continual improvement of activity.

"Article 21. The organs above the controlled units, other than those provided in Article 20, make a quarterly examination of the findings of the control teams in the organs of collective leadership, together with the local councils of the Socialist Unity Front and with the councils of worker control of economic and social activity and they establish the measures needed to solve the proposals made and eliminate the lacks found."

12. A new paragraph with the following content is introduced to Article 22:

"During the control actions which they undertake the organs provided in the preceding paragraph are obligated, in accordance with job duties, to check on the way in which the findings and proposals of the working peoples control teams have been solved and take efficient measures to eliminate the defects signaled and causes of them."

13. A new paragraph with the following content is introduced to Article 23:

"The organs higher than the units controlled are obligated to verify if the leaders of the units under them have taken the necessary measures to solve the findings and proposals of the working peoples control team."

Within the law, the name " public control" is replaced with "working peoples control," the "single record of guidance and control"--with "the single record of control," "employee" with "worker personnel" and "executive committee of the peoples council" with "executive committee or bureau of the peoples council."

Article II. Law 6/1972 on the Organization and Operation of the Working Peoples Control, with the amendments made by this decree, will be republished, giving the chapters and articles a new numbering.

Appendix: Number of members in the commissions for coordination and guidance of working peoples control activity

Central Commission	35-43
Commissions in counties and Bucharest municipality	21-29
Municipal, city commissions and in sectors of	
Bucharest municipality	11-17
Village commissions	9-13

8071
CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

LAW ON WORKER CONTROL COUNCIL AMENDED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 115,15 Nov 77 pp 4-8

/Decree No 385 of the Council of State on Amending Law No 15/1972 on the Organization and Operation of the Central Council of Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity/

/Text/ In order to ensure a unified framework for operation of the worker control councils at all organizational levels and to achieve close cooperation between worker control and working peoples control units, the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees the following:

Article I. Law No 15/1972 on the Organization and Operation of the Central Council of Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity is amended as follows:

1. The following paragraphs are introduced to Article 1:

"Control contributes to strengthening order and discipline, the spirit of responsibility and exactingness in fulfilling tasks and to preventing negative phenomena, violations and infringements of legal standards in effect so that all economic and social life goes on in accordance with the party decisions and the laws of the country.

"The Central Council of Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity gives aid to the collective leadership organs in establishing and applying measures with a view to eliminating shortcomings and improving activity in the areas controlled, it takes action for the specific and efficient on-the-spot solution of the problems on total fulfillment of the tasks belonging to the socialist units from the single national plan under good conditions."

Article 2. Article 4, paragraph 2, will have the following content:

"The Central Council of Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity informs the Council of Ministers of the main shortcomings in the economic-social activity resulting from the controls made and it proposes measures to eliminate them and prevent them in the future."

3. Article 5, paragraph 2, will have the following content:

"In order to ensure coordination of the activity of the specialized state control inspections, the Central Council of Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity collaborates with the Higher Court of Financial Control, ministries and other central organs as well as with the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania."

4. Article 7e), f) and k) will have the following content:

"e) It controls the efficient utilization of investment capital for fulfilling productive industrial and agrozootechnical projects, social-cultural projects, fulfilling the investment plan, construction-assembly, placing into operation and reaching the parameters designed, fulfilling the measures established to reduce consumption of raw materials, materials, fuel and energy and cost of the projects, shortening the times for execution and increasing the economic efficiency of the investments;"

"f) It controls the efficient use of the potential for research, technological engineering and design and application of the results of scientific research in production; it controls the utilization of licenses obtained from abroad;"

"k) It controls application of measures to improve the organization and planned leadership of economic and social activity;"

5. Letter k¹) is introduced following Article 7k), with the following content:

"k¹) Together with the Council of Ministers, it approves the plan for complex controls over production, technical, economic and financial activity as well as subject controls lasting longer than 3 days which are carried out by the central overall organs and economic ministries in the socialist units, ensuring correlation of it with the provisions of the single control plan approved by the party leadership;"

6. A new paragraph with the following content is introduced to Article 7:

"In order to achieve control actions, the Central Council of Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity cooperates with the

State Planning Committee, the Council of Social-Economic Organization, the Higher Court of Financial Control, central financial-banking organs and economic ministries, depending on the type of problems analyzed."

7. Article 12 will have the following content:

"Article 12. The Central Council of Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity is comprised of 55 members and formed of a president, first vice president, vice presidents, state secretary and members named by presidential decree. Making up the Central Council of Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity will be party activists, leadership cadres from ministries and other central organs, representatives of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania and branch trade unions, representatives of the National Council of Women and the Union of Communist Youth, presidents of county councils of worker control of economic and social activity, heads of specialized state central inspections of control, directors of industrial centrals and enterprises, scientists, teaching cadres from higher education, as well as 15 workers and foremen working directly in production appointed by the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania for a period of 5 years.

"The president, first vice president, vice presidents and state secretary form the Executive Bureau of the Central Council of Worker Control of Economic-Social Activity.

"In order to fulfill its tasks, the Central Council of Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity has its own apparatus."

8. Article 15, paragraphs 2, 3 and 4, will have the following content:

"The county and Bucharest municipality councils of worker control of economic and social activity control fulfillment of the plan indicators for production, investments, foreign trade and application of measures by centrals, enterprises, cooperative organizations, job sites and other economic units for using production capacities, utilizing raw material resources, raising the quality of products, reducing production costs, increasing the efficiency of economic activity; it gives aid to the party organs and organizations and to working peoples councils in the socialist units to improve the leadership of economic and social activity and solve the problems which appear in fulfilling the plan tasks and the pledges for overfulfilling them efficiently.

"The county and Bucharest municipality councils of worker control of economic and social activity make analyses and studies and work out proposals on economic and social development of the counties and Bucharest municipality; they seek that implementation of the party decisions are ensured territorially through the draft plan on utilizing material and human resources and maximum efficiency and continually improving working and living conditions of the population in the particular county.

"The county and Bucharest municipality councils of worker control of economic and social activity guide the activity of municipal councils, those of the sectors of Bucharest municipality and city councils of worker control of economic and social activity; together with the county and Bucharest municipality councils of trade unions, they guide the activity of the councils of worker control of economic and social activity in the economic units."

9. Article 16 will have the following content:

"Article 16. The county and Bucharest municipality councils of worker control of economic and social activity are composed of 35-41 members and comprised of a president, vice president and members; the job of council president is filled by the secretary with economic problems from the county and Bucharest municipality party committee; at the same time he is vice president of the executive committee of the peoples council.

"Making up these councils will be members of the county party committees and executive committee of the county peoples council, party activists, cadres with responsible jobs and specialists from enterprises, centrals and overall county organs, representatives of county trade union council and county women's committees, county committee of the Union of Communist Youth, presidents of municipal worker control councils and those of sectors of Bucharest municipality and cities, heads of territorial inspections of specialized state control, teaching cadres as well as 12-15 workers and foremen working directly in production appointed by county and Bucharest municipality trade union councils for 5 years.

"The compositions of the county and Bucharest municipality councils of worker control of economic and social activity is approved by the party committee and county and Bucharest municipality peoples councils.

"The president, vice president and three to five members form the Executive Bureau of the county and Bucharest municipality councils of worker control of economic and social activity.

"In order to fulfill their tasks, the county and Bucharest municipality councils of worker control of economic and social

activity have their own apparatus."

10. Chapter IV¹ is introduced following Chapter IV, with the following content:

"CHAPTER IV¹: Municipal Councils of Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity and Those of Sectors of Bucharest Municipality and Cities

"Article 17¹. Councils of worker control of economic and social activity--party and state organs--are organized in municipalities, sectors of Bucharest municipality and cities; they carry out their activity under the direct leadership of the party committees and municipal peoples councils and those of sectors of Bucharest municipality and cities. These councils are also under the county and Bucharest municipality councils of worker control of economic and social activity, respectively.

"Article 17². Municipal councils of worker control of economic and social activity and those of sectors of Bucharest municipality and cities control and give aid to the economic and social-cultural units within their administrative-territorial sphere in applying party decisions, laws and other normative acts regarding the fulfillment of tasks resulting from the national plan for industrial production, in agriculture, investments, export, supplying the population and providing services; fulfillment of tasks to raise labor productivity; the use of production capacities; the introduction of technical progress and raising of the quality of products; reduction in consumption of raw materials, materials, fuel and energy; reduction in production costs and rise in profitability as well as other problems in the area of economic and social activity.

"Municipal councils of worker control of economic and social activity and those of sectors of Bucharest municipality and cities report to the particular party committees on the conclusions resulting from the controls made and measures needed.

"Article 17³. Municipal councils of worker control of economic and social activity and those of sectors of Bucharest municipality and cities are comprised of 17-31 members and formed of a president, vice president and members; the job of council president in municipalities, sectors of Bucharest municipality and category I cities is fulfilled by the secretary with economic problems of the particular party committee; at the same time he is vice president of the executive committee or bureau of the peoples council. The job of council president for category II and III cities is filled by one of the deputy secretaries of the particular party committee.

"Making up the councils will be members of the party committee and of the executive committee, or bureau, respectively, of the peoples council, party activists, responsible cadres and specialists in economic and social-cultural units, representatives of trade union, Union of Communist Youth and women's organizations, presidents of worker control councils from economic units, teaching cadres as well as 7-14 workers and foremen working directly in production appointed by the trade unions of municipal councils and those of the sectors of Bucharest municipality and cities for a period of 5 years.

"Composition of these councils is approved by party committees and municipal peoples councils and of sectors of Bucharest municipality and cities.

"An executive bureau formed of the president, vice president and three to five members is established for efficient leadership of the activity for municipal councils and those of sectors of Bucharest municipality and cities of worker control.

"Article 17⁴. Municipal councils of worker control of economic and social activity and those of sectors of Bucharest municipality and cities can take measures appropriately and apply the penalties provided in Article 8 and Article 9a) and c); they also can propose application of the measures provided in Article 9d) and g) to the county councils of worker control of economic and social activity and those of Bucharest municipality, according to the case.

"The provisions of Article 10 also apply appropriately to the municipal councils of worker control of economic and social activity and those of sectors of Bucharest municipality and cities."

11. Article 18 will have the following content:

"Article 18. Councils of worker control of economic and social activity are organized in industrial, transport, construction and commercial enterprises, state agricultural enterprises and those for mechanization of agriculture, other state economic units as well as research and design institutes.

"The councils of worker control of economic and social activity operate under the leadership of the trade union committees in the particular units, also being under the city councils of worker control of economic and social activity, those of the sectors of Bucharest municipality, municipalities or counties and Bucharest municipality, according to the case."

12. Article 19, paragraphs 2 and 3, will have the following content:

"Councils of worker control of economic and social activity will follow and control the following: fulfillment of the provisions of collective labor contracts; application of the standards of the technique of labor security and labor hygiene; the good operation of dispensaries, polyclinics, hospitals, cafeterias, dormitories for single people, nurseries and kindergartens for children which operate in the particular units; the way proposals made in general working peoples meetings and meetings of trade union groups are solved; the solution of problems brought up by working people in letters and audiences as well as any other problems on labor and social relations and conditions in the particular unit.

"The worker control councils will take action to develop progressive attitudes toward work, toward stimulating the creative initiatives of working people in fulfilling economic and social tasks, saving raw materials, materials, fuel and energy, promoting technical progress and for combatting demonstrations of indifference, negligence and lack of responsibility."

13. Article 20 will have the following content:

"Article 20. The councils of worker control of economic and social activity are established from highly qualified workers with long experience in production, the best engineers, foremen, technicians, economists and other specialized cadres. In proportion to the size of the units the councils are comprised of 11-21 members, of which 5-10 are workers, foremen and technicians.

"The job of council president is filled by the vice president of the trade union committee in the particular unit.

"The listing of names of councils of worker control of economic and social activity in the socialist units are approved in general meetings of working people in the particular units for a period of 2 years.

"In fulfilling their obligations, the councils of worker control of economic and social activity can also involve other working people who are not members of these councils."

14. Article 22 will have the following content:

"Article 22. The councils of worker control for economic and social activity propose measures to the trade union committees to improve the economic and social activity of the socialist units which, together with the working peoples councils, ensure application of them.

"The councils of worker control of economic and social activity in the socialist units also propose to the councils in cities, sectors of Bucharest municipality, municipalities or to county, Bucharest municipality councils of worker control of economic and social activity, according to the case, that measures be taken to improve the economic and social activity or that penalties be applied to persons guilty of violating the party and state decisions."

15. Chapter V¹ is introduced following Chapter V with the following content:

"CHAPTER V¹: Cooperation Between Worker Control Councils and Working Peoples Control Units"

"Article 22¹. The councils of worker control of economic and social activity organize control actions jointly with the working peoples control units over fulfillment of party decisions and application of laws in the following areas: supplying the population, providing services to the population, maintaining and repair of housing fund, joint transport, medical assistance, utilization of the material-technical base and management of educational, cultural, sports and social assistance units, respect for the standards of labor protection, defense and conservation of the environment.

"Article 22². In order to ensure rational inclusion of economic and social units in control, avoidance of parallelism and unified coordination of the actions organized by worker control with those of working peoples control, the Central Council and the councils in counties, municipalities, sectors of Bucharest municipality and cities of worker control of economic and social activity collaborate with the councils of the Socialist Unity Front.

"The vice presidents of the councils of worker control of economic and social activity in counties, municipalities, sectors of Bucharest municipality and cities also fill the job as presidents of the Socialist Unity Front commissions in counties, municipalities, sectors of Bucharest municipality and cities to coordinate and guide the control activity of the working people.

"Article 22³. The Central Council of Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity and the councils in counties, municipalities, sectors of Bucharest municipality and cities examine the information and proposals of the working peoples control units and, in conformity with the duties provided by this law, they establish measures to eliminate shortcomings, improve activity and penalize persons guilty of violating the legal provisions."

16. Article 24, paragraph 1, will have the following content:

"In the single register of control it is compulsory to enter the findings, recommendations and measures issued by the control organs of the Central Council of Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity and councils in counties, Bucharest municipality, municipalities, sectors of Bucharest municipality and cities, specialized state control inspections as well as other persons outside the socialist units, which carry out control actions, regardless of their job and length of the action."

17. Within the law, the name "working peoples committee" is replaced with "working peoples councils," the name "secretary general" is replaced with "state secretary" while the word "salary" is replaced by "pay."

18. Appendix 1, "Specialized State Central Control Inspections," will have the content of Appendix 1 in this decree.

Article II. Law No 15/1972 on the Organization and Operation of the Central Council of Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity, with the amendments made by this decree, will be republished, giving the chapters and articles a new numbering.

Appendix No I: Central Specialized State Control Inspections

State Inspectorate for Quality and Discipline in Construction

State Inspection for Labor Protection

State Central Health Inspectorate

State General Inspectorate for Control of Management of Fixed Capital, Fuel, Energy and for Checking Steam Installations

State Inspectorate for Price Control

State inspections for agriculture and food industry

State Inspection of Waters

State Commercial General Inspectorate

Inspection for Tourism

State Inspection for Mining Geology

Other state inspections established by laws, decrees or decisions of the Council of Ministers

8071
CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAVIA

SHORTER TERMS URGED IN DELEGATE SYSTEM

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 28 Oct 77 p 2

[Text] Instead of the 4-year permanent term, should a changeable or a so-called flexible term be introduced for members of delegations and for delegates in the assemblies of the social-political associations? This question is more and more often present in discussions on activity of the delegate system and especially in present preparations for the coming elections.

Our delegate system envisions that a delegate, who will participate together with delegates from other milieus in the final adoption of a decision, be sent to the assembly only after discussion on a certain social problem or interest in the delegate base, in basic self-management organizations and associations. In this regard it is understandable that what is involved is always different areas of social life, different problems and interests and that in discussions on these he who knows more on some concrete problem or has an inclination and personal interest to participate in solving this concrete problem will participate more. This is why one logically concludes that that member of a delegation be sent to assemblies who best knows the essence of the problem which will be discussed in assembly councils.

The advantage of a changeable delegate is indicated also by the fact that its introduction has enabled a larger circle of people to join numerous social functions and jobs for which they have most interest, inclination, qualifications and abilities. This is how the image of officials who know everything or must discuss everything would be removed even to a larger extent.

The constitution of the S R of Slovenia introduced from the very beginning changeable delegates in delegations, and the constitution of the S R of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Article 144, paragraph 2) has foreseen a possibility for flexible delegates for opstina assemblies. Amendment 3 of the Constitution of the S R of Bosnia-Herzegovina stipulates that delegates be delegated to certain associations of assemblies of social-political associations by statutes of opstina assemblies.

At a recent meeting of the Federal Council for Questions on Social Order it was said that it is precisely individual republic constitutions that make

the work of assemblies with flexible delegates impossible, because they refer only to permanent delegates, so that the question is asked whether all republic and provincial constitutions have implemented and worked out principles of the SFRY Constitution by which the delegate principle of decision-making is introduced for all social jobs and for all bodies which decide on these jobs.

The possible introduction of a flexible term was also mentioned at the last joint meeting of the Republic Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Croatia and the Council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Croatia and in spite of all the advantages, the danger was pointed out that, among other things, in the application of a short, changeable term, professional executive organs and specialized services would objectively come into a position in which they would perform even more than up to now many functions of delegate organs concerned with elections or would intrude upon the work of these organs.

It seems to us that in this period of preparations for elections, when it is too late to start constitutional changes, the most important thing is to persistently realize the principle of rotation, and by this alone the above-mentioned disharmony in the delegate decision-making would be lessened. We point this out also because opinions have been appearing stating that the limit to two terms became valid only after the adoption of the last Constitution and in accordance with this somebody can be a delegate automatically for 8 full years and even 12 years which is evidently not in accordance with the essence of delegate relations and delegate decision-making.

In Croatia, at the above mentioned meeting of the Republic Conference of the SAWPC and the Council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Croatia, a position was taken to perform political and self-management functions in one term as a rule, because this will enable a greater inflow of capable cadres, skilled and highly skilled, from associated work into the structure of the delegate-assembly system and political system as a whole. This would also be a corrective measure against the excessive accumulation of functions and duties and also against that unnecessary part and negative sides of political professionalism. And a self-manager producer in associated work could leave his profession probably at the most for 4 years if he does not want to risk losing his skill and his job.

CSO: 2800

END